

with the Ottawas for the Dutch, and expresses the hope that the Sulpician missionaries would prove of assistance. In November, 1673, in writing to Colbert, he remarks: "You will remember, my Lord, that several years ago you were informed that the English and the Dutch were doing all they could to prevent the Ottawas, the tribes from which we draw all our peltries, from bringing them to us, and that they wanted to get them to come to Ganacheskiagon, on the shores of Lake Ontario, where they offered to bring for them all the goods that they needed. The apprehensions of my predecessors that this would utterly ruin our trade, and their desire to deprive our neighbours of their profitable trade with the Ottawas through the Iroquois, made them think of establishing some post on Lake Ontario which would give them control." The Governor then proceeds to describe the founding of Fort Frontenac. It is plain from these remarks and from the legend on the unsigned map shown on page 22 of this volume, that Fort Frontenac was founded as a rival to the trade at Ganatsekwyagon, the Seneca village at the terminus of the eastern arm of the Toronto Portage. In November, 1674, in writing to Colbert, Frontenac returns to the same subject: "They (the envoys of the Iroquois) have promised to prevent the Wolves of Taracton, a tribe adjoining New Holland, from continuing their hostilities with the Ottawas, of whom they had killed seven or eight, which might have had grave consequences, and they have given their word not to continue the trade, which, as I informed you last year, they had commenced to establish at Gandaschekiagon with the Ottawas, which would have absolutely ruined ours by the transfer of the furs to the Dutch."¹ It is apparent, then, that the reason for the building of Fort Frontenac was to destroy the trade of the English and Dutch along the eastern arm of the Toronto Portage. It would seem that the English and the Iroquois, foiled by Fort Frontenac in their trade at Ganatsekwyagon, which they had reached along

¹ "Lettre du gouverneur Frontenac au ministre Colbert, 14 novembre, 1674," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1926-1927, p. 65.

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the north shore of Lake Ontario, now began to trade at Teiaiagon, which they reached by following the south shore round the western end of the lake.

There was a serious obstacle, however, to the realization of these plans. The traders in Montreal discouraged every attempt to establish a post in the interior; trading was forbidden in the upper country and the Indians were encouraged to bring their furs to Montreal to a great annual market held there. The matter of a fortified post on Lake Ontario was deferred till 1673 when Frontenac, in the teeth of much opposition, founded his fort at Cataraqui. Next year, in 1674, the seigniory of Fort Frontenac was granted to La Salle as a reward for discoveries already made, and, although Montreal continued to oppose the development of the west, La Salle held his ground. We shall find him almost immediately at the Toronto Carrying-Place.

The inhabitants of Teiaiagon,¹ the Seneca village on the site of Toronto, are not mentioned among those who sent envoys to confer with Frontenac at Cataraqui in 1673.² Possibly, being the farthest towards the west, they thought they might be excused from making the arduous journey. The deputies of Ganatsekwyagon, Ganaraske, Kenté and Ganneious had been rounded up by the missionaries, but too late to be present on the occasion when Frontenac addressed the Iroquois nations from the south of the lake, and the Governor seems to have been a little put out that he had to go through the performance again. However, after sharply rebuking them for their absence, he exhorted them to become Christians, to keep the peace and to maintain a good understanding with the French, all of which they promised to do with as much readiness as their kinsmen from the south of the lake, whose spirit and willingness to obey they professed to share. But though Teiaiagon was not represented on this important occasion, Frontenac and La Salle seem soon to have become aware of its

¹ MARGRY, I, pp. 500, 514, 543; II, pp. 14, 115, 158.

² "*Le Comte de Frontenac au lac Ontario.*" Margry, I, pp. 233-235.

existence. Its situation at the southern terminus of the Toronto Carrying-Place was strategic, and accordingly, in the remarks appended to the statement of expenditures incurred by La Salle between 1675-1684, we find this statement:¹

It (Fort Frontenac) has frustrated and will continue to frustrate the designs of the same English, who had undertaken to draw away to themselves by means of the Iroquois, the nations of the Outawas. They have to go to them by the road which leads to Lake Huron from the village of Teiaiaigon, and they would have succeeded had not M. de Frontenac placed this fort in their path; the whole country has felt the benefit, not only in the protection of the trade and in maintaining peace, but in checking the license of our deserters, who had an easy road there by which to make their way to strangers.

We may be sure that La Salle, when he established himself at his seigniory at Fort Frontenac, in 1675, took pains to acquaint himself still more thoroughly with the shores of the lake, and especially with the north shore, where the fur trade was most active.² It is likely that he visited the villages along the shore and gathered all information available about the trails leading into the interior. He would, no doubt, accompany the small vessels sent from the fort to collect the furs at these places, and it would not be long before he would learn about the Toronto Carrying-Place; he may even have passed over it on some unrecorded exploring expedition prior to 1680. It is more than likely that he was quite familiar with Teiaiaigon and the Carrying-Place long before he employed that route in his western explorations. As we shall presently see, La Salle was the first traveller to describe in his own words a trip over the portage; he was also the first to record the place name "Toronto" in its accepted spelling.³ Before La Salle, the maps indicate that the eastern trail from Ganatsekwyagon was the route usually followed. La Salle's choice of the trail from Teiaiaigon

¹ MARGRY, II, p. 14.

² Frontenac, in 1673, in selecting Cataragui relied on a map of Lake Ontario sent by La Salle. *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1926-1927, p. 37.

³ It has been stated that the spelling in the original documents in Paris is Taronto. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 1899, p. 137.

must have been deliberate and may have been due to the fact that there was better anchorage for larger vessels. Experience had probably proved it the better path; also it may have been easier to elude the vigilance of the Iroquois at Teiaiaagon than at Ganatsekwyagon, for La Salle was anxious to conceal the fact that he was carrying ammunition to the Illinois, with whom the Iroquois were at war. According to Raffeix's map of 1688, the western route from the Humber mouth was much shorter.

But before following La Salle on the various occasions on which he traversed the Carrying-Place, we have to recount the visit which Father Hennepin paid to Teiaiaagon and the mouth of the Humber in the late autumn of 1678; for it is in the company of this remarkable person that documentary history arrives for the first time at the foot of the trail and at the site of the present city of Toronto. Hennepin had joined the Récollet mission at Fort Frontenac in 1675, so that in 1678 he was no stranger on Lake Ontario. The barefooted follower of St. Francis is famous for his thirst for adventure and glory, and for his lukewarm attachment to the truth. But on this occasion when he was visiting an obscure Indian village, there need be no reason to suspect his veracity. He will be allowed to tell his story in his own words; it is contained in the beginning of the fourteenth chapter of his *New Discovery of a Large Country in America*, which the author published in an English edition in London in 1698 with a dedication to "His Most Excellent Majesty William III," a fact which will not be without significance to those who recall the subsequent devotion of the city of Toronto to that monarch. Hennepin writes:

That same year, on the Eighteenth of November, I took leave of our Monks at Fort Frontenac, and after mutual Embraces and Expressions of Brotherly and Christian Charity, I embarked in a Brigantine of about ten Tuns. The Winds and the Cold of Autumn were then very violent, insomuch that our Crew was afraid to go into so small a Vessel. This oblig'd us and the Sieur de la Motte, our Commander,¹ to keep our course

¹ SEVERANCE. *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 43; Margry, II, pp. 7-9.

on the North-side of the Lake, to shelter ourselves under the Coast, against the North-west Wind, which otherwise wou'd have forc'd us upon the Southern Coast of the Lake. This Voyage prov'd very difficult and dangerous, because of the unseasonable time of the Year, Winter being near at hand.

On the 26th, we were in great danger about two large Leagues off the Land, where we were oblig'd to lie at Anchor all that night at sixty Fathom Water and above; but at length the Wind coming to the North-East, we sail'd on and arriv'd safely at the further end of Lake Ontario, call'd by the Iroquoese, Skannadario. We came pretty near to one of their Villages call'd Tejajagon, lying about Seventy Leagues from Fort Frontenac, or Catarokuoy.

We barter'd some Indian Corn with the Iroquoese, who could not sufficiently admire us, and came frequently to see us on board our Brigantine, which for our greater security, we had brought to an anchor into a River, though before we could get in, we run aground three times, which oblig'd us to put fourteen Men into Canou's, and cast the Ballast of our Ship over-board to get her off again. That River falls into the Lake; but for fear of being frozen up therein, we were forc'd to cut the Ice with Axes and other Instruments.

The wind turning then contrary, we were oblig'd to tarry there til the 15th of December, 1678, when we sail'd from the Northern Coast to the Southern, where the River Niagara runs into the Lake; but could not reach it that Day, though it is but Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues distant, and therefore cast Anchor within Five Leagues of the Shore, where we had very bad Weather all the Night long.

On the 6th, being St. Nicholas's Day, we got into the fine River Niagara, into which never any such Ship as ours enter'd before. We sung there *Te Deum*, and other Prayers, to return Thanks to God Almighty for our prosperous Voyage. The Iroquoese Tsonnontouans inhabiting the little Village, situated at the mouth of the River, took above Three Hundred Whitings, which are bigger than Carps, and the best relish'd, as well as the wholesomest Fish in the World; which they presented all to us, imputing their good Luck to our Arrival. They were much surprized at our Ship, which they call'd the great wooden Canou.

We have quoted at some length from Hennepin; he is an interesting person whose talents have been somewhat obscured

by his lack of veracity, for did he not attempt to appropriate the glory of the discovery of the lower Mississippi, incorporating for that purpose in his own book a passage from Le Clercq's *l'Établissement de la Foy*, describing La Salle's journey from Fort Crèvecoeur to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682 and so twisting it as to refer to himself? Nevertheless Hennepin's is a vivid personality; we can easily picture the barefooted, brown-habited friar, with the cord of St. Francis about his waist, in the autumn of 1678 at Teiaiaagon. He confesses himself that he loved adventure and travel as much as religion, and in truth he is far removed from the earnest Jesuits who preceded him, who believed in the conversion of the Indians as a reality and a possibility, and were ready to suffer tortures to attain that object. Father Hennepin took his religion less seriously; it was all very well to preach the Gospel to the savages, but he tells us himself that it was idle to expect their conversion; the savages were too fickle and too degraded. Meantime he devoted himself to exploration. We find him on this occasion storm-stayed at Teiaiaagon for nearly three weeks, and we may be sure he did not devote all that time to the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants. Very likely he had been in Teiaiaagon before, as it was an outlying post of the mission at Fort Frontenac, and we can imagine him, when he had satisfied his conscience with a little mission work in the lodges, exploring the shore, or reading his breviary by the banks of the Humber, where he would be more sheltered from the wind which was lashing the lake, and impatient to proceed on his journey to the Niagara River and so on to the great falls, of which he was to give us the first detailed picture which we possess. While he tarries reluctantly and the ice begins to form in the Humber and the first scuds of snow chase one another over the black ice, let us try to see Teiaiaagon as it must have presented itself to his eyes.

Indian villages as a rule did not remain longer than about twenty years in one place; a change would be necessary, not only for sanitary reasons, but also because the supply of wood

for the fires in the lodges would become exhausted. But there were reasons why Teiaiagon should remain more permanently where it was. It was an Iroquois village and there were cultivated fields near by, and the labour of clearing away the forest would be too great to encourage frequent changes. Moreover, Teiaiagon was at the foot of the Toronto Carrying-Place and commanded the route by which the Iroquois from the south of the lake passed to the rich beaver hunting-grounds formerly enjoyed by the Hurons. Teiaiagon, once established, could never move far from the mouth of the Humber. It was tied to this locality by another excellent reason. Like their neighbours at Ganatsekwyagon at the mouth of the Rouge, the inhabitants of Teiaiagon depended for part of their sustenance upon the salmon fisheries which were especially abundant at the mouths of the Humber and the Rouge. Everything combined to give permanence to a village once established at so strategic a point, and indeed the name "Teiaiagon" appears attached to the mouth of the Humber on the best maps of the district for a hundred and thirty years after La Salle and Hennepin; though no mention of the place has been found in any document later than 1688.¹

Would that the versatile friar had devoted some of his time to a more detailed description of Teiaiagon; undoubtedly he would have done so had he divined that a great city was one day to spread itself for miles along that sandy shore where the waves beat so mercilessly that autumn. There is no likelihood, however, that Teiaiagon differed very much, except in situation, from a score of other Indian villages with which Hennepin was familiar, and since he has told us a good deal about what he observed of the life of the savages during his two and a half years at Fort Frontenac, it will not be difficult to reconstruct the scene. We may be sure that Teiaiagon was protected

¹ The way in which Teiaiagon on many maps wandered up and down the north shore of Lake Ontario led to curious mistakes. In one instance it carried the name Toronto with it. In 1834 Smith's Creek, now Port Hope, was on the eve of adopting the name Toronto which was resumed by the provincial capital hitherto called York. Consult *Picturesque Canada*, Vol. II, pp. 636-637, and the *Globe*, Vol. 23, p. 61.

by a stout palisade¹ and fortified with all the skill which the Iroquois could command; this would be equally true of all the Cayuga and Seneca villages on the north shore of the lake, for they were outposts, cut off from assistance in case of raids from the north. Teiaiaagon in this respect would have much to fear. What was left of the Huron and Algonquin enemies of the Iroquois had concentrated themselves at Michilimackinac and the Sault where the French had recently formally declared their ownership of the country; the Jesuits were there and the fur-traders, and to all the savage hordes who roved the northern wilderness Teiaiaagon was within easy striking distance by way of the Toronto Portage. It would be well palisaded, and inside it would not differ in general pattern from other Iroquois villages. There would be long-houses² in place of the conical lodges of the Algonquins, and there would be the usual filthy squalor of those miserable abodes; the narrow streets would be a playground for naked children; there would be groups of women and girls gossiping or performing the simple tasks incident to savage life; there would be young men gambling in the shade and old men comforting their age with tobacco; possibly there would be Dutch traders or furtive *coureurs-de-bois*, anxious to escape the observation of the emissaries of La Salle; coming and going there would be hunters from the woods, or old hags bringing in faggots from the forest, or braves returning from a scalping party with prisoners to be tortured; for in Teiaiaagon, no doubt, were enacted those horrible scenes of torture and cannibalism which seemed to the missionaries so like their imagined conceptions of inferno. Hennepin does not say so, but the hopelessness of reforming such places was due in large measure to the traffic in brandy and to the loose living of the white men who undid and gave the lie to all the efforts of the missionaries.

¹ Traces of a palisade were discovered on Baby Point in 1889 by Mr. A. F. Hunter. These relics of a fortification might be ascribed to Teiaiaagon, the Missisauga village, or the Toronto Post of 1720. Consult also *Transactions Canadian Institute*, 1886-1887, p. 12; pp. 37-40; *ibid.*, 1887-1888, p. 22.

² The Raffeix map of 1688 shows these pergola-like structures.

Although the visit of Father Hennepin to Teiaiagon in 1679 is the first visit to Toronto personally recorded, it is not the first glimpse which history gets of the place. Some time in the '70's a party of La Salle's men from Cataraqui were at Teiaiagon and engaged in a drunken debauch; this is the first definitely recorded visit of white men to the site of the present city; a rather melancholy beginning for Toronto the good! The incident is recorded in an obscure tract entitled *Histoire de l'eau de vie en Canada*, under the heading, "Sad Death of Brandy Traders": "The Carnival of the year 167- six traders from Katarak8y named Duplessis, Ptolémée, Dautru, Lamouche, Colin and Cascaret made the whole village of Taheyagon drunk, all the inhabitants were dead drunk for three days; the old men, the women and the children got drunk; after which the six traders engaged in the debauch which the savages call *Gan8ary*, running about naked with a keg of brandy under the arm." The writer of the tract then proceeds to point out that each of the traders met a tragic end.¹ The same document mentions the fact that two women were stabbed at Tcheiagon (Teiaiagon) in 1676 as the result of a drunken brawl, possibly the same occasion. In 1682 the *Mémoire de la guerre contre les Iroquois* informs us that the Iroquois having resolved "to put Onontio in the pot," began the year by plundering three Frenchmen at Tcheyagon (Teiaiagon): Le Duc, Abraham² and

1 "Ils ont tous finis d'une mort misérable: Duplessis, est mort à la Barboude, où il a esté vendu par les Anglois. Ptolémée s'est noyé, tournant en canot sur un rocher auquel il a donné son nom, le Sault Ptolémée. Dautru s'est noyé dans la Barque de M. de la Salle, qui périt dans le Lac Huron. Lamouche s'est noyé à l'entrée de la Rivière Sainte Anne, avec un Lanodière. Colin a esté bruslé aux Iroquois, en 1692, accompagnant M. Le Chevalier d'Eau en ambassade. Cascaret est mort sans confession, chez un Chirurgien à Montréal, rongé de vérole, aussi bien qu'un nommé Lacauce, qui fut trouvé mangé des Aigles à la Pointe à Baudet dans le Lac Saint François. C'estoit un célèbre impudique et un fameux traiteur d'Eau-de-vie."—*Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada*, p. 17. Three of them, Duplessis, Colin, Dautru, sailed with La Salle in the *Griffon*. M. Massicotte informs me that Laurent Cascaret, born in 1654, was buried in Montreal, May 20, 1684; that Charles Ptolémée, born 1639, perished in the Sault Saint-Louis in 1679; he had been a member of the 16th squad of Maisonneuve's militia and had been engaged by La Salle on July 1, 1669, to go with him "chez les nations sauvages tant du côté du sud que du côté du nord." Lamouche is probably a nickname.

2 RENÉ ABRAHAM, born 1645, who married Jeanne Blondeau about 1672. He lived at Three Rivers and Sorel between 1673 and 1680. E.-Z.M.



PART OF RAFFEIX'S MAP—1688
 From a copy in the Public Archives, Ottawa. This is the first map
 to show the Don River.

Lachapelle.¹ Apparently Teiaiaagon had the characteristics of a frontier post.

The exact position of the site of Teiaiaagon has been the subject of considerable conjecture.² Several sites have been suggested, on all of which extensive remains of former habitation have been discovered. One of these lies close to the corner of Dundas St. and Shaw St.; this site was explored by members of the Denison family many years ago. Another site more recently explored is adjacent to the corner of Eglinton Avenue and Oriole Parkway. Another site is on Withrow Avenue, east of the Don. There are others in the Black Creek neighbourhood in York township. None of these sites, however, conform to

1 LA BARRE encouraged the pillaging of *coureurs-de-bois* without licenses.

2 *Picturesque Canada*, Vol. II, pp. 623 and 636.

the best maps of the period, the most reliable of which place Teiaiaagon on the east bank of the Toronto River at the foot of the Toronto Carrying-Place.¹ Several of these maps indicate the distance across the portage in leagues from Teiaiaagon to the west branch of the Holland River—a sure indication that the village was not far from the shore of Lake Ontario. There is one site, however, not already mentioned, which satisfies all the conditions, and which has a better claim than any other to authenticity. Baby Point on the Humber commands the foot of the Carrying-Place; the Humber can be forded at that spot; the river, impassable above, becomes navigable to the open lake; it is a high, commanding situation, easily fortified and far enough back from the lake for safety. On this site all kinds of relics of the aborigines have been found, indicating very ancient occupation; there are traces of all the tribes, and iron implements have been discovered showing occupation after the coming of the white man.² Hundreds of graves have been opened and are still encountered when excavations are made. Traces of a palisade were observed by Mr. A. F. Hunter in 1889. At least four distinct village sites have been discovered on Baby Point and there is an area of nine or ten acres full of mounds and isolated graves. Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, informs me that the probable meaning of the name "Teiaiaagon" is "It crosses the stream," and that the reference might be to a path, a log or a bridge. As a village on Baby Point would command the ford over the Humber, this explanation seems appropriate. Professor Louis Allen, to whom I applied for information, states that the word contains Bruyas' Mohawk root, *gaiagon*, to cut; *kaiahiagon*, to cross a river. Dr. Scadding gives as the traditional meaning of the word "a portage or landing-place," a meaning not in agreement with the explanations given above but very descriptive of Teiaiaagon, since the Humber was navigable for canoes

1 DE LÉRY'S map of 1728 places Terraiaagon (*sic*) on the west bank of the Toronto river.

2 Relics have been discovered by Mr. R. J. Dilworth, Mr. A. J. Clark and others.

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almost to the foot of the great bluff, and at this point the traveller began the long portage to the Holland River.

Teiaiaagon must always have been a strategic point. The trail running east and west along the north shore of Lake Ontario would bend inland to ford the Humber. The site commanded the traffic in two directions, north along the portage to Lake Simcoe and east and west along Lake Ontario. In addition, Teiaiaagon would be the natural terminus for those crossing the lake from Niagara. From Baby Point there is a magnificent view of the Humber Valley, a view which would not be greatly impeded by the forest which at that time clothed the banks of the river. It adds additional romance to the site to recall that the Hon. James Baby, the original owner of the land, and a member of Governor Simcoe's council, was a Frenchman from Detroit, a descendant of Jacques Baby de Rainville, an officer in the Carignan-Salières regiment, and a member of a family long interested in the fur trade and well acquainted with all the trade routes of the upper country. Baby's ancestors had traded at Toronto. Did he select this site from sentiment and a knowledge of its historic importance even before the coming of the white man, or was it because he expected further developments along the Carrying-Place? However that may be, Baby was successful in obtaining land where Frobisher, de Rocheblave, La Force, Bouchette and Rousseau failed. The Baby Point site has much to offer to those who like to reconstruct the past. Somewhere on the sunny hillside La Salle seated himself in 1680 to write the long letter dated from Teiaiaagon which he composed in the autumn of that year during the delay occasioned by the difficulties of the portage. On the opposite side of the stream and just above the "Old Mill," has been placed the site of the Missisauga village of Toronto of Sir William Johnson's time. The Old Mill itself is, no doubt, on the site of the mill projected in 1751 by the Marquis de la Jonquière.

Whether the relics discovered by Mr. Wm. Mansell in 1924

on the brow of the hill behind his residence on Baby Point belonged to the Senecas of Teiaiaagon or to the Missisaugas of Missisauga Toronto would be difficult to determine. These relics, which consisted of a large number of iron trade axes bearing the usual markings, some nondescript fragments of metal and two broken clay pipes of European manufacture, are proof that the site was occupied by the aborigines since the coming of the white man. The tomahawks were found on the crest of the hill where it overlooks the Humber sweeping down from Lambton Mills. At the foot of the hill there is a stretch of swampy land; the slope is still well wooded and intersected with numerous paths. Quantities of bones of every description, found on the slope of the hill, jawbones of deer, ribs of bears and fragments of partridge bones, indicate that the inhabitants of the village found the slope of the hill a convenient place for the disposal of refuse. Eight of the iron tomahawks discovered in 1924 were found in a cluster or circle, and suggest the gloomy thought that this lovely spot was at some time desecrated by one of those atrocities described so minutely by the early missionaries and explorers. In burning a prisoner, it was customary for the Indians to add to the torment of the victim by suspending from his neck a collar of axe-heads heated in the flames and held together by a withe. It is idle to conjecture whether the poor victim on Baby Point was a Huron or Iroquois captive or a prisoner from New England.

Hennepin, as we have seen, left Teiaiaagon on December 15, 1678. He expected to meet La Salle at Niagara, where the latter was to spend the winter in preparations for fresh enterprises. There were already at this early date four vessels on Lake Ontario of from twenty-five to forty tons, but as yet there was no vessel on Lake Erie, and the winter of 1678 and 1679 was spent by La Salle in the construction of the *Griffon*. In this ill-fated vessel he set sail on August 7, 1679, for Michilimackinac and the country of the Illinois.

It will not be necessary to follow La Salle back and forth over

the ground between the Illinois and Fort Frontenac in the numerous journeys which he made in his struggles to co-ordinate the various parts of his expedition.

But since historians have for the most part ignored the fact that La Salle crossed the Carrying-Place on three and possibly four occasions, and since the maps in our text-books represent him as following the traditional route by Lake Erie, I have thought it best to give several versions of the same episodes, informing the reader at the outset that La Salle crossed the Toronto Carrying-Place in 1680 from Teiaiaagon to Michilimackinac, and in 1681 from Michilimackinac to Teiaiaagon on his way to Fort Frontenac, and again in the same year on his way back to Michilimackinac. It is possible that La Salle crossed the Carrying-Place a fourth time in 1683, on his return from the Mississippi. With these facts in mind, the reader should have no difficulty in following the various versions of these events, each of which adds something to our knowledge of the locality.

We find La Salle, then, at Teiaiaagon in the summer of 1680; he had left Fort Frontenac on the tenth of August on his second journey into the country of the Illinois. He had with him twenty-five men, including ship-carpenters and the materials necessary to complete the vessel which he had begun to build at Crèvecœur to serve for the descent of the Mississippi. "He arrived on the fifteenth at Teiaiaagon, a village of the Iroquois situated sixty leagues from the fort, towards the extremity of the north side of Lake Frontenac. He remained there till the twenty-second, because of the necessity of transporting all his baggage overland to Lake Toronto,¹ which discharges itself into Lake Huron by a river which is navigable only by canoes and runs from east to west. He learned in this place (Teiaiaagon) definite news of the loss of his ship from two deserters whom he was to arrest later, one of whom, Gabriel Minime, obtained permission to return with him as he complained that he had been misled by the others. The other escaped and carried off

¹ Lake Simcoe.

the peltries which the Sieur de La Salle had had seized, and which he had left in the care of one of the savages. On the twenty-third, the Sieur de La Salle arrived at Lake Toronto, on which he embarked with all his people and descended the river which comes out into a bay full of islands. Thence he turned north to follow the north shore of Lake Huron because there are more harbours and places in which to shelter than on the south side, and because there is protection there from the great winds afforded by three long islands which are six or seven leagues from the shore. These islands extend towards the west to a great point of land which separates the straits of Mackinaw from the Sault Sainte-Marie."

The above extract is from the *Relation Officielle*, as given in Margry.¹ The same indefatigable collector of documents supplies us with a letter in which La Salle himself alludes to this episode.²

To resume my account of my journey, I set out last year from Teioiagon, on the 22nd of August, and arrived on the 23rd on the shore of Lake Toronto, where I arrested two of my deserters, one named Gabriel Minime and the other Grand-maison, who had escorted my people, and I had the peltries of the latter seized, but since I left the furs with a savage, and I did not keep the man with me, he has recovered them.³

From both these documents we learn that on this occasion, while La Salle took the shorter route over the Toronto Carrying-Place, he made the rest of his party, who were carrying the heavier baggage, go round by Niagara and Lake Erie. At Michilimackinac La Salle waited with some anxiety for the arrival of these persons. The *Relation* informs us, "He was waiting with much disquiet for the arrival of a blacksmith, two

1 MARGRY, Vol. I, pp. 500 and 501.

2 Ibid, Vol. II, p. 115.

3 MARGRY gives the names of others who passed over the Carrying-Place in 1680 with La Salle: "J'avois le sieur d'Autray, qui est un fort brave jeune homme, un chirurgien, les nommez You, aussy fort brave garçon, Tamisier mort depuis peu, Baron et André Henault, qui avec moy et le sauvage faisoient huit personnes." Margry, II, p. 127. "Le sieur d'Autray était fils du premier procureur general de Québec." Ibid., II, p. 125.

sailors, a corder and two soldiers who were to bring with them three hundred pounds of powder, lead, guns, iron, oakum, pitch and the sails and the tools with which to finish his ship. He had given them orders to come by Lake Erie in order that they might meet the Sieur de Tonty, if he returned by that route, and also to avoid the transport of such heavy baggage over the thirty leagues, and the high mountains which have to be traversed in going from Teioiagon to Lake Toronto where the Sieur de La Salle had himself embarked."¹ La Salle himself remarks in the letter already quoted, "I had left Monsieur La Forest behind with three soldiers, at Missilimakinak, to wait for the blacksmith, the two sailors, the two soldiers and a corder, who were coming by way of Lake Erie with the iron, the oakum and the pitch, the sails and the tools with which to finish the ship, and with three hundred pounds of lead, powder and guns for our defence; and since the winds had been violent during the autumn, although they had set out before me, they were unable to reach Missilimakinak; for the winds are much more dangerous in Lake Erie and Lake Huron on the south side than along the north side of Lake Huron, which I had taken, which was full of islands where one is always in shelter. But I had made them take this route because there is a strip of land to cross thirty leagues in width from Teioiagon to Lake Toronto, where all baggage must be carried over the crest of very high mountains,² and being very heavily loaded they would have had trouble in doing this, and would have lost much time, besides, as I thought that Monsieur de Tonty might have returned by that route, I was very pleased not to miss him, and this obliged me for my part to take the other route by the north of Lake Huron, which is shorter but much more difficult, and where one must live entirely on Indian corn, as there is no hunting for more than a

1 MARGRY, Vol. I, pp. 513-514.

2 "In the parts north of Toronto we more frequently find pine and cedar on account of its vicinity to mountains. They are not as high as the Vosges, but covered with fine timber and good soil. They are not cold like those near Carillon." Pouchot, *Mémoire* (translation), Vol. II, p. 121.

hundred and fifty leagues. Still they tried to prevent me from finding any."¹

We find La Salle again at the Carrying-Place in the following year; he had been forced to return to Canada, to appease his creditors and to collect his scattered resources. At Michilimackinac he had expected to find the Sieur de La Forest, but the latter, contrary to La Salle's instructions, had lingered at Fort Frontenac in order to discharge some business, without considering the consequences of delay. "This mishap caused much annoyance to the Sieur de La Salle, who was obliged to go to Fort Frontenac, by way of Lake Taronto. He found there the Sieur de Tonty in good health, and letters from Count Frontenac instructing him to come down to Montreal to confer with him. However, he did not meet him there, and this caused much useless waste of time. Returning to Fort Frontenac, La Salle prepared for his journey. He arrived in the beginning of August, 1681, at Teyoyagon, where he employed fifteen days in transporting all his baggage to the shores of Lake Taronto, upon which he embarked at the end of the same month of August as in the preceding year."² La Salle on this occasion spent a part of his time at Teiaiaagon in writing an account of what had lately occurred to a correspondent in France, concluding as follows:

This is all I can tell you this year. I have a hundred things to write, but you could not believe how hard it is to do it among Indians. The canoes and their lading must be got over the portage, and I must speak to them continually, and bear all their importunity, or else they will do nothing I want. I hope to write more at leisure next year, and tell you the end of this business, which I hope will turn out well: for I have M. de Tonty,³ who is full of zeal; thirty Frenchmen, all good men, without reckoning such as I cannot trust; and more than a hundred Indians, some of them Shawanoes, and others from New England, all of whom know how to use their guns.

¹ MARGRY, II, pp. 125-126.

² Ibid., I, p. 543.

³ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 79. "Returning westward in August, 1681, their (Tonty, La Salle and Membre) loaded barque sailed from Frontenac to Trajagon (Teiaiaagon)."

It was October before he reached Lake Huron. Day after day and week after week the heavy-laden canoes crept on along the lonely wilderness shores, by the monotonous ranks of bristling moss-bearded firs: lake and forest; forest and lake; a dreary scene haunted with yet more dreary memories—disasters and deferred hopes; time, strength, and wealth spent in vain; a ruinous past and a doubtful future; slander, obloquy, and hate. With unmoved heart, the patient voyager held his course, and drew up his canoes at last on the beach at Fort Miami.¹

From the extracts from Margry it is evident that La Salle traversed the Carrying-Place three times, once in 1680 from south to north and twice in 1681, first from the north and then, on his return from Fort Frontenac, from the south; it was, it appears, the usual short-cut between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron and a sheltered route in stormy weather. La Salle does not seem to have employed the alternative route by the valley of the Trent; the explanation would seem to be that by making use of the ships which he had at Fort Frontenac he could traverse the distance from that place to Teiaiagon in comfort and so shorten the journey. As to the mountains which he mentions and to which Tonti also alludes as the reason for not carrying heavy merchandise over the Carrying-Place, the term "mountains" can mean no more than hills, for the height of land in the township of King does not rise very much above eleven hundred feet above sea level; and the country, though rough in places, cannot fairly be described as mountainous. From the *Relation* of Nicolas de Salle² we learn that the canoes employed by La Salle were twenty feet long and three feet wide, and that each canoe carried about twelve hundredweight of merchandise, and that La Salle concealed his powder and lead from the Iroquois,³ who did not wish him to carry any to their enemies, the Illinois. I have not been able to discover any indication of La Salle's route when returning to Quebec in 1683, after

1 PARKMAN, *La Salle*, p. 294.

2 MARGRY, I, p. 548.

3 "We were right in the Iroquois country at a little lake called Toronto." "Relation de Henri de Tonty." Margry, I, p. 593.

successfully descending the Mississippi; it is possible that he again crossed the Carrying-Place. However that may be, Toronto and the Carrying-Place may be proud of so many historic memories of this remarkable man. "Cavelier de La Salle stands in history," says Parkman, "like a statue of iron; but his unwilling pen betrays the man, and reveals in the stern, sad figure an object of human interest and pity." Here is his character, as sketched by his friend, Abbé Bernou, in a memorial to the minister, the Marquis de Seignelay: "He is irreproachable in his morals, restrained in his conduct, and a man who wishes order among his people. He is learned, judicious and politic, vigilant, indefatigable, sober and intrepid. He has a sufficient knowledge of architecture, civil, military and naval, as well as of agriculture; he speaks or understands four or five savage languages, and learns others with ease. He knows all their ways, and obtains from them what he wants, by address and eloquence, and because of their high opinion of him. On his voyages he enjoys no better cheer than the least of his people, and goes to much trouble to hearten them, and it is believed that with the protection of Your Eminence he will found more considerable colonies than all those which the French have established hitherto".¹

On his return from the Mississippi in 1683, La Salle found that Frontenac had been recalled. For the soldierly Frontenac the Iroquois had had a wholesome respect. For his successor, the Sieur de la Barre, they had nothing but contempt. La Barre's expedition against the Iroquois in 1684 ended ignominiously in the fever-stricken camp at La Famine, where terms were practically dictated by the Iroquois themselves. What La Barre called his "army of the south" never advanced beyond Niagara. This picturesque flotilla had mustered at Michilimackinac and Detroit and had passed down Lake Huron and Lake Erie under the leadership of those great captains of the west, La Durantaye and Du Lhut. But when the feathered and painted savages found no one at Niagara to meet them except a

¹ *Mémoire pour Monseigneur le Marquis de Seignelay*, 1682.

42 TORONTO DURING THE FRENCH RÉGIME

messenger with the news that the war was over, they were loud in their protests of indignation, the loyalty of the tribes to the French was shaken, and the six hundred Hurons, Ottawas, Pottawatamies and Foxes dejectedly retraced their steps over the difficult Niagara portage and dispersed to their distant villages. Du Lhut did not accompany them. Crossing to Teiaiagon, he took the road running north from that village. A letter from Du Lhut to La Barre is dated *au-dessous du Portage de Teiagon, le 10 septembre 1684*.¹ The fame of Du Lhut is only inferior to that of La Salle, and his name must now be added to the list of those who used the Carrying-Place.

¹ MARGRY, Vol. VI, pp. 50-51.

IV

FROM THE RETURN OF LA SALLE TO DE CALLIÈRES' TREATY WITH THE IROQUOIS: 1683-1701

WITH the news of the discoveries of La Salle the English colonies on the Atlantic immediately extended their boundaries in imagination westward to the Mississippi. Long before the English government discerned the importance of the impending struggle, Dongan, the Irish Catholic governor of New York, had assumed the aggressive. In America both the French and the English accused one another; Dongan maintained that the French intended to confine the English to the coast, and the French in their turn were convinced that the English were already plotting to confine New France within the territory bounded on the west by the Ottawa and on the south by the St. Lawrence, and that in the event of a war between the mother countries the French would be excluded from America. It was believed that the English in New York intended to employ the Iroquois in order to effect their purpose, and since the latter were at that time in possession of what is now Ontario, such a plan might easily have succeeded.¹ A chain of fortified trading-posts from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi seemed the only method by which the French could hope to maintain their hold upon their discoveries, and for the first time in 1686 we find the suggestion advanced that a trading-post or fort should be erected at Toronto.

Before, however, considering this historic proposal, which is contained in a letter from Denonville to M. de La Durantaye, the commandant at Michilimackinac, bearing the date of June 6, 1686,² and written from Montreal, let us briefly review the opposing forces in this contest for the possession of the fur

¹ ROCHEMONTEIX, "*Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, Tome III, pp. 217, 218 and 234; "Denonville à Seignelay, 12 juin, 1686"; Parkman, *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, p. 127.

² MARGRY, V, p. 22.

trade and the control of the interior. From Fort Orange on the Hudson, lately become Albany, the English and Dutch traders had easy access to Lake Ontario by the Mohawk River and were accustomed to despatch their traders into the northern wilderness by this route in order to entice the Algonquin tribes of the north to barter their rich furs on the Hudson instead of at Montreal. The Iroquois and their allies, the Wolves, to the south of Lake Ontario had long been the agents of the Dutch and English and were ambitious to secure the whole of the trade for themselves by crushing the Illinois and inducing the Ottawas and the Algonquin tribes of the north to ally themselves with the English rather than the French. The latter, strongly entrenched at Michilimackinac, and rapidly extending their influence in the interior, could only hope to retain their hold on the trade so long as their Algonquin allies remained loyal; the prosperity of the French depended upon the adhesion of the Ottawas and the other tribes of the lakes, otherwise the huge trade which now centred at Michilimackinac would be lost. The Toronto Carrying-Place now became the highway between the opposing camps. If the Iroquois should succeed in crushing the Algonquins of the north as they had already crushed the Hurons and the Neutrals, or should they seduce them from their allegiance, they would be in a position to dictate terms to both the English and the French. Should the English and Dutch traders discover a short and safe route to Michilimackinac, they would capture the trade by the prices which they could offer.¹ The ambition of the Iroquois to crush competition and to secure the whole profits of the trade for themselves and their allies in Albany and Schenectady had to be frustrated by the French before the larger problem of the control of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys could be solved.

Between the years 1685 and 1687, Denonville conceived the project of securing the safety of the colony and of barring all

¹ "Lettre de Frontenac à Colbert en date du 12 novembre, 1674." Margry, I, pp. 274-275; "Talon au Roy, 1670." Margry, I, p. 85; "Dépenses faites par La Salle de 1675 à 1684 au Fort Frontenac." Margry, II, p. 11.

the avenues of approach against the Iroquois and the English, by a chain of forts which was to extend from Lake Champlain to Michilimackinac and the Illinois. Chambly, Cataraqui and Niagara were the first objects of his attention; Chambly, founded on October 19, 1686, was to guard the approaches to Lake Champlain and the Richelieu; Cataraqui seemed to him of the greatest importance in order to secure control of Lake Ontario, and Niagara would command the communication with Lake Erie and secure to the French the mastery of the Senecas and their fur trade, a great part of which passed over the portage on the Niagara River. It was part also of Denonville's plan to establish posts at Detroit and Toronto for the defence of the Ottawas, and to serve as places where they might take refuge if attacked by the Iroquois. "I should not be surprised," writes Margry,¹ "if the idea of these posts was suggested to Denonville by Father Enjalran,² a man of intelligence, who fifteen years later supported the project." Margry probably founded his conjecture upon the fact that Father Enjalran came down from Michilimackinac in 1686 to communicate to the new governor the deplorable state of affairs. Denonville writes to M. de Seignelay in the autumn of that year:

We may set down Canada as lost if we do not make war next year; and, yet, in our present disordered state, war is the most dangerous thing in the world. Nothing will save us but the troops you will send and the forts and blockhouses which it is necessary to build. Yet I dare not begin to work at them for, if I make the least movement in this direction, I shall assuredly draw all the Iroquois down on us, before I am in a condition to attack them.³

Apparently Enjalran succeeded in impressing upon the governor the need for action; he was a man of action himself, and next year, in 1687, we find him taking part in the great raid into the Seneca country at Irondequoit Bay and sustaining

1 MARGRY, V, Introduction, p. XXVIII.

2 ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, Tome III, p. 192.

3 *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 299. "M. Denonville à M. de Seignelay, Québec 8 octobre, 1686."

a gunshot wound in the shoulder. If Enjalran advised the governor to take active steps against the Iroquois, he was following the policy recommended years before by Le Jeune¹ and Druilletes;² and if it was he who first proposed the establishment of a post at Toronto, it was a natural thing for a Jesuit missionary to do, for who knew better than the Jesuits the strategic importance of the Toronto Portage at the northern extremity of which their own fort had been established fifty years before?

While deferring for the present a fuller discussion of the origin and etymology of the word "Toronto," something should be said at this point. As a place-name the word does not occur on any of the maps prior to 1673; it seems to have come into use when the French returned to the lake region in the sixties. It is first used by La Salle, Denonville and Lahontan, who apply the name to Lake Simcoe, the Severn River and the southern part of the Georgian Bay. As the word does not appear during the period of the Huron missions while the Hurons themselves were still living in their own country, it is a fair conclusion that it was employed to describe a region which had assumed a new relation to the French and Hurons now established at Michilimackinac. Lake Simcoe had ceased to be the lake of the Hurons (*lacus Ouentaronius*), and Michilimackinac had become the centre of the rich fur trade of the upper lakes and the west, and the object of the envy and cupidity of the Iroquois and their allies, the Dutch and English on the Hudson. A new nomenclature would be used to describe a region which now owed its importance to a changed relation. There were two approaches to Michilimackinac, one by Detroit and the other by Lake Simcoe. The Hurons' name for Detroit, according to Potier, was *karontaen*, a pass, or gate, and since the word appears also in the form *tarontaen*, it may reasonably be assumed that this name was applied to the other pass and was the origin

¹ ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, Tome II, *Pièces Justificatives* VII, and Tome II, p. 166, f.n.

² *Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland Edition, Vol. XXXVI.

of the name "Toronto," a name which gradually extended itself over the whole pass from the mouth of the Severn to the mouth of the Humber.

We find the name of Enjalran in the letter written by Denonville to M. de La Durantaye, the commandant at Michilimackinac from Montreal, on June 6, 1686; and since this is the first recorded allusion to the project of a post at Toronto, we shall quote the passage in full:

Sir, I am writing to you by the Sieur de Juchereau whom I am sending to you, until the Reverend Father Enjalran can join you at Michilimackinaw, which depends upon the restoration of prisoners which is to take place at Cataracouy. In the meantime it is absolutely necessary for the service of the King and of the colony that you retain about you all the Frenchmen that you can, for I propose to have two posts occupied, one at the straits (le Detroit) leading from Lake Erie, and the other at the portage of Toronto. I desire that the first should be occupied by M. Dulhud, to whom you will give twenty men. I am writing to him to be ready to set out on the receipt of this letter for the said straits in order to select a suitable place there in which to entrench himself, and afterwards to have sent there a sure and faithful person whom he shall choose, and whom he will establish as commandant there.¹

In his letter of the ninth of November of the same year, to M. de Seignelay, already quoted, Denonville refers to the project:

The letters I have written to Sieurs du Lhu and de La Durantaye, of which I send you copies, will inform you of my orders to them to fortify the two passes leading to Michilimaquina. Sieur du Lhu is at that of the Detroit of Lake Erie, and sieur de La Durantaye at that of the portage of Toronto. These two posts will block the passage against the English should they attempt to go again to Michilimaquina, and serve as retreats for our Indian allies either while hunting, or while making war against the Iroquois.² . . . The said Antoine L'Épinant assures, moreover, that a company of fifty men was formed to go to Missilimakina, that their canoes were

¹ MARGY, V, p. 22.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 300.

purchased, and that the low state of the waters had prevented them starting; that they are waiting for the rain to raise the rivers, and that the Senecas have promised to escort them. I have heard of Sieur du Lhu's arrival at the post of the Detroit of Lake Erie, with fifty good men well armed, with munitions of war and provisions and all other necessities sufficient to protect them against the severe cold, and to render them comfortable during the winter wherever they will entrench themselves. M. de La Durantaye is collecting men to fortify himself at Michilimaquina, and to occupy the other passage at Toronto which the English might take to enter Lake Huron. In this way our Englishmen will find some one to speak to.

The expedition to which Denonville refers took place in the autumn of 1685 and is of importance since it was the first occasion on which white men other than French appeared in the upper lakes. Governor Dongan of New York had no intention of allowing the French to monopolize the trade at Mackinac. The party consisted of eleven canoes laden with trade goods and rum and was commanded by Johannes Rooseboom,¹ a young Dutchman of Albany; they made their way to Mackinac by the Niagara portage, the north shore of Lake Erie and Detroit under the guidance of Abel Marion Lafontaine, a renegade French trader well acquainted with the lake region. The English goods and the English rum proved very attractive to the tribes, and in three months Rooseboom was back in Albany. Dongan was delighted. He decided to try again next year. Denonville, on the contrary, was infuriated and gave orders to guard the pass at Detroit and the pass at Toronto. The English had not yet actually employed the Toronto Carrying-Place; but there was a danger. Next year they were at Toronto.

In the autumn of 1686 Dongan despatched a second expedition. The first division left Albany on the eleventh of September and was again commanded by Rooseboom, with Lafontaine as guide. They had twenty canoes and numbered thirty-four in all, most of them members of prominent Dutch families in

¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, pp. 96-106.

Albany. The first division, after wintering in the neighbourhood of Oswego, proceeded by the Niagara route in the direction of Mackinac. As soon as the waterways were free of ice in the spring of 1687, Dongan despatched a second division of the same party, entrusting its command to a person whom he describes as "a Scotch gent named McGregor." Colonel Patrick MacGregorie had come to America in 1684 from Scotland and had gained the confidence of Dongan, who had appointed him earlier in 1686 "Muster Master General of the Militia of the Province of New York." Severance gives some interesting details of the subsequent experiences of MacGregorie, but he seems to be at fault in his account of the adventures of the "Scotch gent" and his party on this occasion. Severance and Parkman, following Colden, state that the second division, like the first, took the Niagara route and passed through Lake Erie unharmed. The *Mémoire de la guerre contre les Iroquois* has a different account:

1687. This year a palisade was built around Ville-Marie. Meantime Dongan the governor of Manhatte, a catholic but a very mischievous man, being persuaded by persons named Du Plessis and Lafontaine Marion, *francs fugitifs du profit*, that there was something to do at Missilimakinac, sent there a man named Grégorie with a large party of sixty men and three thousand pounds of goods; and having been warned that M. Duluth was on guard at the pass of Toncharontio (Detroit) which leads from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, they went by Taronte, and were led by Lafontaine Marion, the person named Gaustassy and Tegannenset. They arrived in the neighbourhood of Missilimakina towards the month of May to the number of sixty. M. de la Durantaye, a very brave and prudent officer in command there, feeling that he must anticipate the meeting of the Ottawas and the Dutch, set out ahead with his company; all the savages set out at the same time fully armed and form a numerous party in the woods a gun-shot from the French. *Chose admirable!*—all the savages were inclined to favor the Dutch on account of the cheapness of their goods; Grégorie, however, was convinced that the savages came to escort and support the French; M. de la Durantaye without

giving the savages time to declare themselves, being between them and the Dutch, advances with his company with gun pointed, compels the sixty Dutchmen to lay down their arms, binds their hands, and at the same time allows all the savages and French to pillage their goods winning over thereby those who perhaps would have rebelled.

The Grégoire of this narrative is of course Colonel Patrick MacGregorie. The first Englishman to visit Toronto was a Scotchman! MacGregorie and Rooseboom, whose division had shared the same fate, were carried prisoner to Niagara; they were subsequently released. Lafontaine as a French deserter was shot by order of Denonville at Cataraqui. Lahontan, in 1703, in a book published in Amsterdam, protested his execution, and describes him as "an active fellow who had travelled frequently all over this continent and was perfectly well acquainted with the country, and with the savages of Canada." The Du Plessis of the narrative is, no doubt, the same trader who some ten years before had been one of six to debauch the inhabitants of Teiaiagon; he died in the Barbadoes, where he was sold by the English. "It is certain," wrote Denonville, "that if the English had not been stopped and pillaged, the Hurons and Ottawas would have revolted and cut the throats of all our Frenchmen." *Chose admirable* for the French, *chose malheureuse* for Dongan and Patrick MacGregorie and the English! Had Dongan's expedition succeeded the French would have been confined to the St. Lawrence and the English would have held the continent. History forgets failures.

It has been assumed that de la Durantaye, in obedience to instructions, established a fortified post at the southern end of the Toronto Portage; if so, it must have been a very temporary structure. Several maps of the period show Duluth's fort on the site of the present town of Sarnia, but no map has as yet come to light which indicates that de la Durantaye made any fortification at Toronto. The Toronto Portage could have been blocked as effectually at the northern end as at the southern; it was at the mouth of the Matchedash Bay (*Baye*

de Toronto) that Lahontan placed his "Fort Supposé,"¹ a project still under discussion when Deputy Surveyor-General Collins made his report to Lord Dorchester in 1788,² and finally carried into effect by the military post projected by Simcoe at Penetanguishene and established in 1816. There is a passage in Denonville's report to de Seignelay written from Montreal on June 8, 1687, which causes still further perplexity:

I must inform you, My Lord, that I have altered the orders I had originally given last year to M. de la Durantaye to pass by Taronto and to enter Lake Ontario at Gandatsitiagon to form a juncture with M. du Lhu at Niagara. I have sent him word by the Sieur Juchereau who took back the two Hurons and Outaouas chiefs this winter, to join Sieur du Lhu at the Detroit of Lake Erie, so that they may be stronger and in condition to resist the enemy should he go to meet them at Niagara.³

As we have already seen, there were two trails from the Holland to Lake Ontario; one from the east branch to Ganatsekwyagon at the mouth of the Rouge, and the other from the west branch to Teiaiaagon at the mouth of the Humber. Denonville, on this occasion, instructed de la Durantaye to use the eastern trail to Ganatsekwyagon because it was nearer to Irondequoit Bay, the gateway to the Seneca country. Had Denonville intended to block the portage at the southern end, it is not possible to be sure that he did not intend his post at Toronto to be placed at Ganatsekwyagon rather than at Teiaiaagon. These two villages were twenty-three miles apart, and in reality it would have been necessary to fortify both places. On the other hand, what does Denonville mean by instructing de la Durantaye "to pass by Taronto"? Does he mean Lake Toronto as Lake Simcoe was then called, or does he mean the village of the Missisaugas of that name which Carver tells us was on Lake Simcoe? Raffeix's map of 1688 gives fifteen leagues as the length of the eastern portage, which would

1 LAHONTAN, map of 1703.

2 *Ontario Public Archives*, 1905, p. 362.

3 *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 327.

mean that its northern terminus was at Roche's Point and not at Holland Landing; probably in winter the trail would end at the former place and in summer at the latter. In 1793 there was a village of the Missisaugas on Cook's Bay, opposite Roche's Point, and from this village a trail led on to the foot of Kempenfeldt Bay and on to Penetanguishene. A post on Cook's Bay at this point would have blocked both of the southern trails. So far as is known at present, the name "Toronto" had not in Denonville's time become localized anywhere on Lake Ontario; it was still associated with the Lake Simcoe region. Even so, it is not, outside the range of possibility that when Denonville stated that he intended to have the "portage of Toronto" occupied, he meant the southern end of the trail, distinctively known at a later date as the Toronto Carrying-Place; possibly, in spite of all the objections which may be raised, we shall be right in assuming with Margry that Denonville's proposed post was the origin of the present city of Toronto.

But before leaving this fascinating question, the spot which Denonville proposed to fortify, one more suggestion may be made. The Jesuits in 1650 built a substantial fort on Christian Island, which they were compelled almost immediately to abandon on account of famine and pestilence. It was apparently the strongest spot in the country, for it commanded the route by the Nottawasaga and that by the Severn; it was the only spot which could be said to control the passage from Lake Ontario to Lake Huron. Lahontan suggested a fort at the mouth of the Bay of Toronto, and in his map the words Bay of Toronto run between Christian Island and the mainland; and though his *fort supposé* is usually placed on his maps at the mouth of the Severn, there is one version in which it is placed where the Jesuit fort stood. Is it possible that this was the original Toronto? On Du Creux's map of the Huron country (1660) there is a village adjacent to this spot marked *Taruentutunum*, a Latinized form. Many names of French towns had Latin names ending in *-dunum*. Was there a Taruentu? The late Father Devine informed me that in his opinion the Jesuits

had intended to remove their headquarters to Ste. Marie II on Christian Island some time before their forced removal in 1650.

The eastern trail to Ganatsekwyagon, which appears in the last half of the seventeenth century as the rival of the western trail or Toronto Carrying-Place, merits a more detailed description. It has been intimated already that it was at Ganatsekwyagon that the Sulpicians established themselves in 1669 and that it was by the eastern trail that Joliet and Péré crossed to Matchedash Bay in 1669, the first white men so far as is known, to pass that way since the expulsion of the Hurons. There are other indications that this trail was much used both by the Ottawas and the Iroquois in their trade with the Dutch on the Hudson during this period. Unfortunately there are in existence no maps comparable with the excellent maps of the western trail, which would enable us to determine the exact course of the trail from the mouth of the Rouge to the Holland Landing. Joliet's map and Raffeix's map seem to indicate that the trail did not follow the valley of the Rouge but ran in a northerly direction towards the village of Stouffville along the watershed to the end of the Little Rouge. If so, the trail probably passed close to the site of the fortified village east of Vandorf so well known to archaeologists, and from that point passed to the east of Newmarket on to the Holland Landing, from which point there would be an extension to Roche's Point, to be used in winter to escape the more exposed route by the Holland flats. Scadding, however, informs us that the Missisaugas set much store by a trail along the valley of the Rouge;¹ the existence of such a trail is corroborated by numerous village sites in that locality. There was also a trail parallel with Yonge St., running from Bond Lake to the eastern branch of the Holland, and this may have been the course of the eastern branch of the Toronto Carrying-Place so popular in the seventeenth century. It was by the trail from Ganatsekwyagon, as we shall presently see, that the savage allies of the French returned to the north after the raid into the Seneca country in

¹ SCADDING, *Toronto of Old* (1873), p. 473.

1688. Which of the two trails would be used would depend upon the destination of the traveller; those travelling from the eastern end of the lake and from Fort Frontenac would naturally go north by the Rouge route, while those from the western end of the lake or from Niagara would follow the Humber trail; the distance by land in either case was the same, and both trails terminated in the north in the Holland River and Cook's Bay; at the south, however, they were twenty-three miles apart, and the southern end of the Humber trail was that much nearer to the mouth of the Niagara River, a fact which, joined to the proximity of an excellent harbour, must have contributed to the greater popularity of the western carrying-place.

On the fourth of July, 1687, Denonville embarked at Fort Frontenac for his campaign against the Senecas. With four hundred *bateaux* and canoes he crossed the foot of Lake Ontario, and moved westward along the southern shore. The weather was rough and six days passed before he saw the headlands of Irondequoit Bay. Far off on the glimmering water he saw a multitude of canoes advancing to meet him. It was the flotilla of de La Durantaye. Good luck and good management had so disposed it that the allied bands, concentrating from points more than a thousand miles distant, reached the rendezvous on the same day. This was not all. The Ottawas of Michilimackinac, who refused to follow La Durantaye, had changed their minds the next morning, embarked in a body, paddled up the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, crossed to Toronto, and joined the allies at Niagara. White and red, Denonville now had nearly three thousand men under his command.¹

As for these allies from the upper lakes, Parkman tells us that most of them wore nothing but horns on their heads and the tails of beasts behind their backs. Their faces were painted red or green, with black or white spots; their noses and ears were hung with ornaments of iron; and their naked bodies were daubed with figures of various sorts of animals. As the rendezvous was Niagara, there can be little doubt that these fearsome savages followed the Humber trail; they returned after the

¹ PARKMAN, *Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV*, p. 154; *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 447.

battle by the eastern trail from Ganatsekwyagon with their prisoners to Michilimackinac; they excelled, we are told, in cruelty rather than in courage.

After his campaign against the Senecas, in which the governor "although he tore down the nest failed to crush the wasps," Denonville proceeded immediately to the realization of his most cherished project. With a portion of his troops, he coasted the southern shore of the lake and, arriving at the mouth of the Niagara River on the thirty-first of July, he began at once the erection of a stockade on the site of the present fort. Fort Denonville had a brief and troubled existence; during the winter of 1688 and 1689 most of the garrison died of scurvy and the post was abandoned. Had it been possible for the French to remain permanently at Niagara, it would have been necessary for them to fortify the Portage of Toronto at a much earlier date; Niagara closed one door to Michilimackinac, but a fort there would have been useless had the pass at Toronto remained open. When the French, nearly forty years later, in 1720, resumed the project of a post at Niagara, we shall find that a trading post at the mouth of the Humber appears simultaneously, and that the history of the two posts is closely linked together.

In the summer of 1687, after the building of the fort at the mouth of the Niagara, Denonville embarked with his troops for Montreal; following the coast westward to the head of the lake, he returned along the north shore, and as this is the first occasion of a vice-regal visit to Toronto, we shall let the record speak for itself. In his official account¹ of the expedition against the Senecas, Denonville writes:

2nd of August—The militia having performed their allotted task, and the Fort being in a condition of defence, in case of attack, they set out at noon for the end of the lake, on their return home. 3rd.—The next day I embarked in the morning for the purpose of joining the militia, leaving the regular troops in charge of M. de Vaudreuil, to finish what was most essential,

¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, pp. 368, 369.

and to render the fort capable not only of defence, but also of being occupied by a detachment of a hundred soldiers, which are to winter there under the command of M. de Troyes, a veteran officer, now a full captain of one of the companies stationed in this country. We advanced 13 leagues and encamped on the point at the end of the lake, where there is a traverse of 4 leagues from the southern to the northern shore (Burlington Beach). 4th.—Fearing the day breeze we embarked in the morning as soon as the moon rose and accomplished the traverse of 4 leagues. We made 14 leagues to-day. (This would bring the party to the mouth of the Humber.) 5th July.—The storm of wind and rain prevented us leaving in the morning, but at noon, the weather cleared up and we advanced 7 or 8 leagues and arrived at a place (Ganatsekwyagon) to which I had sent forward our Christian Indians from below. We found them with two hundred deer they had killed,¹ a good share of which they gave to our army, that thus profited by this fortunate chase.

On the ninth the governor reached Cataraqui and on the thirteenth he was back in Montreal.

The morning spent at Toronto was windy and rainy, and it is not likely that Denonville saw very much of the surrounding country. Father Enjalran and de la Durantaye had taken part in the campaign against the Senecas, and without doubt the project of a fort at Toronto had been thoroughly discussed. If it had been the intention of the governor in his letter of the year before to fortify the southern end of the portage, he apparently abandoned the project, for though he was now on the very ground, he says no more about it. One cannot but ask whether the governor employed the morning spent at the mouth of the Humber in raiding and destroying the Seneca village of Teiaiaagon; he had already dealt roughly with the inhabitants of Ganneious and, since we hear no more of the Iroquois villages on the north side of Lake Ontario after this memorable expedition, it is quite possible that Denonville conducted some military operations which he does not report. On the other hand, the Indians were always subject to panic,

¹ DENONVILLE had also despatched Indians to Detroit to secure provisions for those returning to Michilimackinac by that route.

and the inhabitants of the five villages, or at least the most westerly of them, may have fled to the south side of the lake.

Imagination would like to dwell a little longer on the scene at the mouth of the Rouge, when the two hundred deer provided a rich feast for the victorious Indians and Frenchmen. The Christian Indians in question were, no doubt, the allies from the Sault whom Denonville had sent across the lake from Irondequoit Bay to Ganatsekwyagon, to return to the north by the easterly trail.

Denonville was followed a little later by the regular troops under the command of de Vaudreuil. The writer of the *Mémoire de la guerre contre les Iroquois* evidently belonged to this party.

He writes:

We crossed Lake Ontario from south to north where the lake is four leagues wide, with a light breeze which made waves like the sea. Where we landed we had a pleasant sight; for a quarter of a league along the shore all the trees had a skinned roebuck hanging from the branches. M. de Troye died there of dysentery. The food had given everyone this sickness which had spread owing to the fresh pork and the beans (other writers say the green corn). After coasting past Téliâgon and calling at Kenté and Ganeyousse, by the Tannahouté we reached Katarak8y the day after a great storm which compelled us to pass the night on a rock or little islet. We reached Katarak8y where M. le Marquis anxiously awaited us for we had been followed by the Iroquois.

But though the governor and his victorious troops celebrated a rude triumph on this occasion and looked across the waters of the broad lake with complacency towards the harried country of the Senecas, Denonville in reality only succeeded in rousing the fury of the Iroquois. Niagara and Fort Frontenac were abandoned, and next year the massacre of Lachine shook the allegiance of all the tribes of the lakes and almost placed in the power of the English and the Iroquois the great prize for which both they and the French were contending—the fur trade of the west.

Denonville had ruined for the time the fortunes of the French in America. With the return of Frontenac in 1689, confidence was gradually restored. Fort Frontenac was rebuilt. Phipps' attack on Quebec was repulsed, and the respect of the western tribes was regained by the raids which Frontenac made into New York and New England. We hear no more for the present of a chain of forts in the west; nor did the French government, having rejected Lahontan's plan of three posts,¹ one at Buffalo, another at Detroit and a third on the point at the mouth of the *baie de Toronto*, attempt any further fortifications till the founding of Detroit in 1701. In that year de Callières' great council with the Iroquois and the western tribes at Montreal brought to an end a long period of hostility and ushered in an epoch when the rivalries of trade were more peacefully pursued in the Great Lakes. During the next few years, allusions to Toronto and the Toronto Portage will be few. The band of Frenchmen who built Fort Pontchartrain in 1701, thereby laying the foundations of the city of Detroit, went thither by the Ottawa trail; and although there was an occasional passage by way of the Niagara, for some years the principal coming and going between the upper lakes and the lower St. Lawrence was by the northern route.

Some time during the period which we have been considering, the Missisaugas began to replace the Iroquois along the north shore of the lake. The campaigns of Denonville and Frontenac must have made the position of any of the latter who ventured to remain very insecure. The nefarious kidnapping of the inhabitants of Kenté and Ganneious must have made all who

¹ "Avec ces moyens il se proposait de faire trois fortins en différents endroits, le premier à la décharge du lac Érie, le second au lieu où il avait commandé en 1687 et en 1688 et le troisième à la pointe de l'embouchure de la baie de Toronto. Quatrevingt dix hommes devaient suffire selon lui pour garder les trois redoutes." Margry, V, Introduction, p. LX. Lahontan's map places a *fort supposé* at the mouth of the Severn; but there is an edition of his map (1720) which places the fort on the site of Ste. Marie II. The Jesuits, in 1650, had established themselves there knowing that it was the only point which could command traffic from the mouth of the Nottawasaga as well as from the mouth of the Severn. Possibly this was the Toronto which Denonville intended to fortify. Islands north of this region are still called "The Watchers."

professed neutrality exceedingly apprehensive.¹ Teiaiagon and Ganatsekwyagon, if they still existed, lay right across the path of the Ottawas descending from the north. Indian tradition is notoriously inaccurate, but the fact that Copway, himself a Chippewa, in his traditional history of the tribe, asserts that it was in the latter part of the seventeenth century that the Missisaugas expelled the Iroquois from the country north of the lakes, may be allowed some consideration.² At any rate, when Toronto and the Portage again emerge into the light of history, the Missisauga Indians are in possession.

Here is the first documentary proof of the reappearance of an Algonquin tribe on Lake Ontario since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Champlain's map of 1612 indicates that at that time the Hontagounon—the Iroquois name for the Algonquins—had three villages on the north shore of the lake. On June 30, 1700, envoys from the Five Nations presented certain "Propositions for Ye Commisioners for Trade" at Albany. They said:

We must now give you an account of what the Dowaganhaes (Outawas) have said at Onondaga.

Some of the Dowaganhaes having had a conference with our Indians at their hunting last winter, conclude to desert their habitations and to come and settle upon Ye Lake of Cadarackqui, near the Sinnekes' country at a place called Kanatiochtiage (Ganatsekwyagon),³ and accordingly they are come and settled there and have sent five of their people to Onondaga to treat being sent from three Nations who are very strong, having sixteen castles.

They say,—

"We have come to acquaint you that we are settled on Ye North side of Cadarachqui Lake near Tchojachiage (Teiaiagon) where we plant a tree of peace and open a path for all people,

¹ "Assuredly the five villages will avenge our quarrel." Lahontan, *Voyages in North America*, Vol. I, p. 122 and 123; *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, pp. 362, 363 and 819.

² "Colonel Strickland, in his explorations of the County of Peterborough, found near the Otonabee River the field that gave the Missisaugas the lordship of Rice Lake and Stoney Lake and the other lakes beyond." *Picturesque Canada*, II, p. 642.

³ *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, p. 234, "Kanatiochtiage."

60 TORONTO DURING THE FRENCH RÉGIME

quite to Corlaer's house (Schenectady)¹ and desire to be united in Ye Covenant Chain, our hunting places to be one, and to boil in one kettle, eat out of one spoon, and so be one; and because the path to Corlaer's house may be open and clear, doe give a drest elke skin to cover Ye path to walke upon."²

Peace was made with the Dowaganhaes and they were welcomed to Corlaer's house. Thus it was that the Missisaugas, for it is they, established themselves at Toronto and became allies of the Iroquois.

¹ The Indians often referred to the governor of New York as Corlaer as they called the French governor Onontio.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 694. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 476.

V

FROM THE FOUNDING OF DETROIT TO THE BUILDING OF FORT TORONTO: 1701-1750

THE *Magasin Royal* AT TORONTO: 1720-1730

WE come now to a period in the history of Lake Ontario when records and exploits seem to vanish.¹ Denonville's raid into the Seneca country, followed by the massacre of Lachine and Frontenac's punitive expedition into the Iroquois country, closed the region to the French. The Iroquois, though cowed, were still formidable, and if the French came at all into Lake Ontario they came stealthily and avoided offence. Between 1687 and 1716 there is very little upon which to base the history of the Toronto district. The missionaries, the explorers and the soldiers seem to have passed it by, and although after 1701 there was a steady stream of settlers making their way over the Niagara portage to Detroit, they often followed the south shore of the lake, and in any case there is little record of these migrations. After 1713 there followed a period of comparative peace with the English. There were few war parties abroad, and the rivalries of trade compose the meagre records of the period.

Scanty though these records may be, they are picturesque, and we may feel sure, even without documentary proof, that no year passed without the presence of some vagrant *coureur-de-bois* from Quebec or some rival trader from Albany at the mouth of the Toronto River. It was in this period that the foundations of permanent settlement at Toronto were laid. The city of Toronto, instead of dating its existence from Simcoe and 1793, or Lord Dorchester and 1788, or from Portneuf and 1750, must now go back to the Sieur Douville and 1720. The evidence is complete. But while 1720 is at the present the earliest date at which permanent settlement at Toronto can be placed,

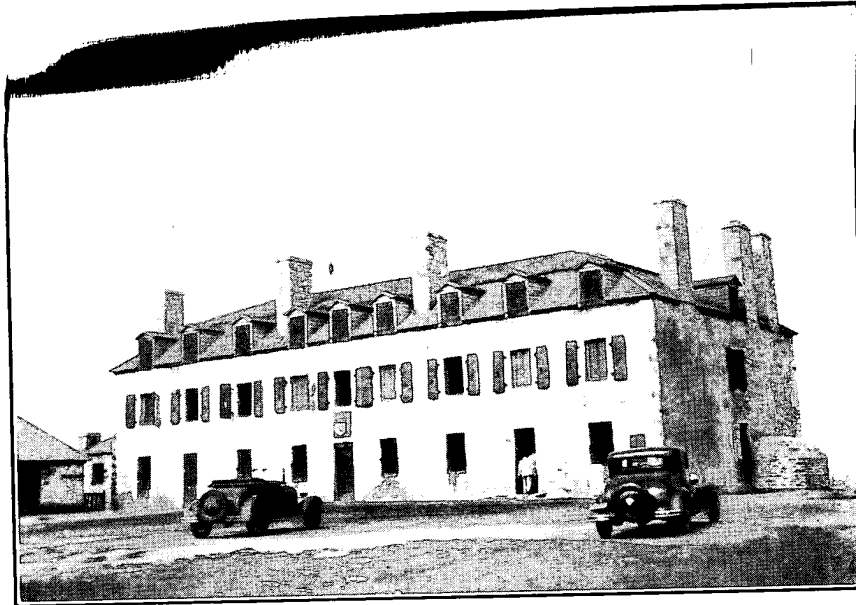
¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 146.

justifiable inference from existing documents makes it certain that there was regular trading at Toronto as early as 1715, and when the history of Fort Frontenac is written, it will, no doubt, be apparent that, with the exception of a short period between 1687 and 1715, there was continuous trading at Toronto from Péré in 1668 to Simcoe in 1793.

The history of the struggle between the French and the English for the control of the fur trade on Lake Ontario between 1695 and 1720 is obscure, but the main outlines are now apparent. The Iroquois had voluntarily withdrawn or had been expelled from the north shore, and as early as 1700 the Missisaugas were established in the western end of the lake; their villages, of which the most important was at Toronto, extended from the mouth of the Rouge to the mouth of the Niagara. They were thus in control of the approaches to Mackinac and of the immensely valuable trade there.

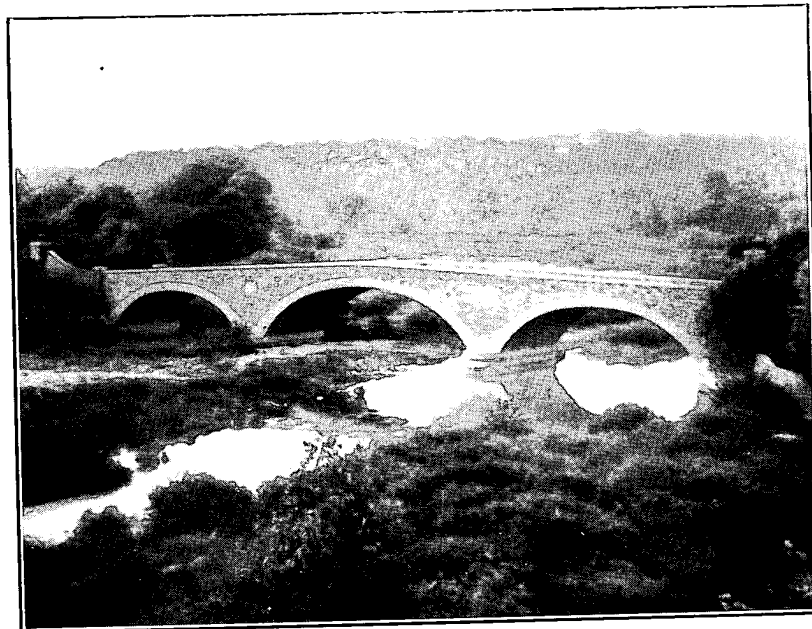
As a rule the Indians and the traders in their canoes followed the shores of the Great Lakes, though the former on occasion would venture to cross the open water. Fort Frontenac had been established, as we have seen, to intercept the traffic along the north shore from Toronto to Albany carried on by the Dutch and their allies, the Iroquois. Unfortunately for the French, the route westward from Toronto and along the south shore was equally convenient. It is a question whether the Iroquois in their strength would have allowed both approaches to be blocked. When the Missisaugas established themselves at Toronto and the western end of the lake, the region, all of which was included by the French in the term *fond-du-lac*, at once proved to be of strategic importance and both the French and the English took steps to secure control. The Missisaugas in the *fond-du-lac* were within equal reach of Frontenac and Chouéguen. From the first, attracted by the potency of the English rum, the Missisaugas showed a distinct preference for trading at Albany.

In 1700, as we have noted in the conclusion of the preceding chapter, the Missisaugas introduced by the Onondagas were



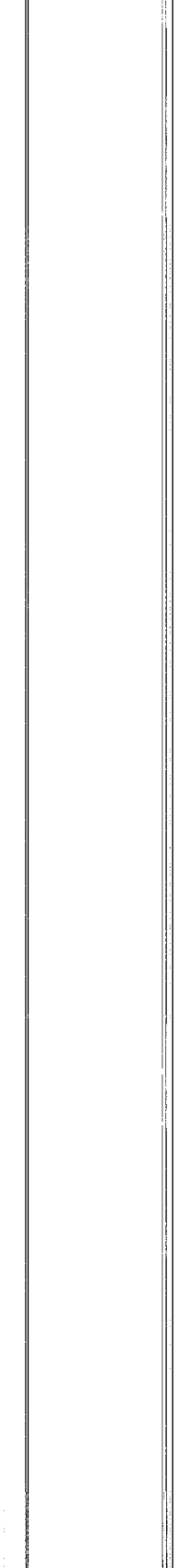
THE STONE HOUSE AT NIAGARA

Built by de Léry in 1726 and now restored to its original condition. Toronto was a dependency of Niagara from 1720-1793.



BABY POINT

The site of Teiaiaagon and the probable site of the *Sieur Douville's Magasin Royal* in 1720. Louis Thomas de Joncaire, *Sieur de Chabert*, was the first inspector of this post.



welcomed in "Corlaer's house" and indicated their intention of trading with the English. In the same year the New York commissioners, Schuyler, Livingston and Hanse, heard that the French intended to build five forts on Lake Ontario.¹ In 1706 it is recorded that the Indian allies of the French were trading with the English.² In 1715 the French heard rumours that the English were about to build a post in the end of the lake, and even in 1726 the English were still sending their canoes past the mouth of the Niagara to secure the trade with the Missisaugas in the end of the lake and along the north shore. It was this fact that induced de Léry to build his stone house, not at the foot of the portage at Lewiston, but at the mouth of the Niagara, where it stands to-day looking out over Lake Ontario.³ The efforts of the French to frustrate the English resulted in permanent settlements at Toronto and Niagara very early in the century; these efforts will now be related in detail.

With the rebuilding of Fort Frontenac in 1695, the collecting of peltries along the north shore of Lake Ontario, at the foot of the important trails leading into the interior, was resumed. The Missisaugas were now established in the hunting grounds of the Iroquois north of the lake, and trading went on as before at Kenté and Ganaraske and especially at the mouth of the Toronto River where the Toronto Carrying-Place afforded easy access to rich and varied hunting-grounds.

The regular collection of peltries at these and less important places about the lake would be accomplished by the king's canoes or by the barks which were maintained for this purpose at Fort Frontenac. Apparently no permanent houses or magazines had as yet been constructed. Fort Frontenac or Cataraqui was the centre for Lake Ontario in the same way that

1 SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 334.

2 "I have observed with pain your representation of the trade which the Indian allies of the French carry on with Orange"—"M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil, 6th June, 1708." *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 813.

3 De Léry remarks, "If they had built the stone house at the portage, it is certain the English would have built another on Lake Ontario."

Detroit and Michilimackinac were the centres for the collection of peltries in the districts which they commanded.

That there were grave irregularities and much private profiteering on the part of those in charge of these posts is evident from the fact that Louis XIV, under the date of June 30, 1707,¹ issued instructions to M. de Clerambaut d'Aigremont at Quebec to visit Fort Cataraqui, Niagara, Detroit and Michilimackinac and "to verify their present condition, the trade carried on there, and the utility they may be to the Colony of Canada." M. d'Aigremont left Fort Frontenac on June 20, 1708, and on the twenty-seventh he was at the mouth of the Niagara River, after a week spent in visiting the various points on the north and south shores of the lake dependent on Fort Frontenac. There is no mention of Toronto in the long and detailed report submitted by M. d'Aigremont to the king, but it is likely that he visited the mouth of the Humber and inspected the conditions under which the trade was conducted there.

Ten years later, in 1718, the author of an anonymous report gives the following scanty information about the Missisaugas. "On the opposite or north shore of Lake Huron you have Matchitace; some Missisagues are there, whose manners are the same as the Outaouaes. You have the Toronto Carrying-Place, leading from Lake Ontario to Lake Huron fifteen leagues long." This statement is incorporated with Chauvignerie's *Memoir on the Indians of Canada as far as the Mississippi* (1734)² with the additional statement, "The Missisagues are dispersed along the shore at Kenté, others at the River Toronto and finally at the head of the lake³ to the number of one hundred and fifty in all and at Matchedach. The principal tribe is that

¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 163; and *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 822.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 889; *Ibid.*, p. 1056.

³ The village called *Ganastogué Sonontoua Outinaouatoua* by Galinée in 1669, at the western end of Lake Ontario, may be identical with the *Ganadoke* of the Homan-Danville map of 1756, and the *Gannandoxe* of 1676 mentioned in the *Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada*. The MS. map, 4044B, No. 43, has a note stating that the western end of Lake Ontario is infested by *Ganastogeronons* (Andastes?). Colden's map (1747) shows three villages, probably Toronto, mouth of Credit, head of the lake.

of the Crane." This is the first time that the Humber appears as the Toronto River, and with the establishment of the Missisaugas at the mouth of the river we emerge into the era which preceded Simcoe; for the Missisaugas are the tribe which sold to the government the site of the city of Toronto, and, as we shall see, they were on the ground in 1788 to dispute with the first surveyor the limits of the purchase. It is likely that the Missisaugas established themselves on the site of the Seneca village of Teiaiagon on Baby Point; a site which has yielded proofs of long and varied occupation both before and after the coming of the white man. There are indications also that the Missisaugas had a village on the opposite side of the river. Possibly they alternated for sanitary reasons between these desirable sites, both of which commanded the Carrying-Place. But whether we place the Missisauga village of Toronto on the east or the west bank of the river, the name Toronto as the designation of a permanent settlement became now for the first time localized on Lake Ontario.

There are several references in the records of this period to the magnitude of the trade which was being carried on by the Indians of the upper country with the English at Albany or Orange,¹ and much of it must have come by way of the Carrying-Place. At the war-feast held in Montreal in August, 1711, the Indians from the upper country hesitated to raise the hatchet and to join in the war song in Onontio's name because they had all been trading with the English.² In 1717, Alphonse de Tonti, while crossing Lake Ontario on his way to Niagara, encountered nine canoes all going to Albany to trade; and two days later he fell in with seventeen more, all full of Indians and peltries and bound on the same errand.³ In spite of the re-establishment of Fort Frontenac, the French had not yet solved the problem of excluding the English from the lakes; the English continued to divert a large portion of the fur trade

1 WRAXALL, *New York Indian Records*, McIlwain, Introduction.

2 SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 174.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

to Albany. To the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada from 1703 to 1725, belongs the credit of the temporary success of the French on Lake Ontario. The Governor's first experience of conditions in the upper country had been obtained when he accompanied Denonville on his memorable but fruitless expedition against the Senecas in 1687. Vaudreuil had probably seen with his own eyes the value of the Toronto Carrying-Place and had had an opportunity of discussing with Father Enjalran the necessity of closing that approach to Michilimackinac. As we shall presently see, store-houses were built simultaneously in 1720 in Quinte, Niagara and Toronto under instructions from Vaudreuil, and there is evidence that he had long had these projects in mind. The post at Toronto, established in 1720, was thus a belated fulfilment of the post proposed by Denonville in 1686 and ascribed by Margry to Father Enjalran. The solution of the problem of French ascendancy on Lake Ontario is to be credited, however, not so much to the foresight of the governor as to the astuteness of his subordinates, Joncaire and the younger Longueuil, who had been adopted by the Iroquois as "their children," and lived among them and were gradually able to obtain an ascendancy which the English were unable to shake. Joncaire's story, so far as it is known, has been told by Severance.¹ It is to be hoped that the researches of M. Aegidius Fauteux will reveal still more about this elusive agent of the French, who now assumes a new importance for local historians as the first governor or superintendent of the post established at Toronto in 1720. Joncaire had married an Indian wife and through his popularity with the Senecas he obtained permission for the French to build at Niagara. Whether formal permission was given for the post at Toronto or not, it is to be observed that in 1726 the Senecas claimed the ownership of the land on the north shore of Lake Ontario opposite Niagara.²

From the lists of engagements of *voyageurs* in the district of

1 SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, Chaps. X and XI.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 252.

Montreal¹ a good deal is to be learned about the condition of the fur trade on Lake Ontario in the early years of the eighteenth century. The number of those *voyageurs* whose destination was Fort Frontenac or other parts of Lake Ontario is exceedingly small. Traders went to Michilimackinac, to the Illinois, to the Mississippi and to Detroit, but it is not till 1702 that there is any mention of Fort Frontenac or Lake Ontario. In that year Joseph de Fleury de la Gorgendière engaged ten *voyageurs* to make the trip to Fort Frontenac and, we may assume, to trade about the lake. In 1703 eight men and one woman were engaged to go to Fort Frontenac. There is no further mention of Lake Ontario till 1716, when we encounter names of great interest in the history of Toronto. On March 15, 1716, Jean and Alexandre Dagneau-Douville and others engaged themselves to Jean Baptiste Maurisseau to make the trip to *fond du lac, autour du Katarakouy et au fort des Sables*.² There is no further mention of Lake Ontario in the *voyageur* agreements for several years.

Jean and Alexandre Dagneau-Douville belonged to a family very active both as soldiers and traders in the lake country and the Ohio Valley, and since two members of the family were on several occasions closely connected with Toronto, further genealogical details are desirable. Michel Dagneau-Douville, the progenitor of this family in Canada, submitted evidence of noble birth to the Intendant on June 25, 1708, and his claim was allowed.³ He had come to Canada as an officer in the marines, but did not rise above the position of ensign; he does not seem to have been a very active individual. His sons, on the contrary, played a varied and important part in the rough life of the west and possessed that vigour which so often accompanies the second generation of pioneers. They were Jean

¹ *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1929-1930*, p. 195. "Répertoire des Engagements pour l'ouest conservés dans les Archives judiciaires de Montréal (1670-1778)" par E.-Z. Massicotte.

² *Ibid.*, p. 218. Maurisseau was official interpreter.

³ *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1930; Lettres de Noblesse, I*, p. 127.

Dagneau-Douville, born 1694, Alexandre Dagneau-Douville, born in 1698 and known as the Sieur Douville; Philippe, born in 1700 and known as the Sieur de la Saussaye; Louis-Césaire, born 1704 and known as the Sieur Dagneau de Quindre; Guillaume, born 1706 and known as the Sieur Dagneaux de Lamothe. Of these brothers, whose surnames are so varied and perplexing—and the reader will find others listed in Tanguay—Alexandre and Guillaume served as officers in the troops; the others do not seem to have served.

In 1716, when Jean and Alexandre Dagneau-Douville appear for the first time in Lake Ontario, the elder, Jean, was a young man of twenty-two and Alexander was eighteen. Their engagement bound them to go to the *fond du lac* and, since this term was applied at this time not only to Burlington Bay but to Toronto, we may conclude that their chief destination was the latter place and that their employer intended to trade at the foot of the Toronto Carrying-Place. This is the first occasion of a definite visit to Toronto since Denonville's visit in 1688. Many of the maps of the period are inaccurate in their delineation of the western end of the lake; confusion seems to have arisen as to where the actual *fond du lac* was to be placed. In fact, the Iroquois prevented any proper survey of Lake Ontario till de Léry's survey of the south shore in 1728 and the north shore in 1744. Four years later, when a permanent post was built at Toronto, the post was officially known at first as *le fond du lac*, "the bottom of the lake." No more is heard of the Douvilles in Lake Ontario till 1720; but there is evidence that trading went on regularly between 1716 and 1720 at the mouth of the Toronto river although no buildings were erected there till the latter year. There is evidence, too, that the English from the south of the lake were trading along the north shore to the great annoyance of the French.¹

Meantime Vaudreuil had been nursing his project of permanent posts around Lake Ontario. In 1716 he addressed the following request to the Regent: "The Marquis de Vaudreuil

¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 976.

supplicates your Royal Highness to be pleased to permit him to establish among the Indians such posts as he will find adapted to the good of the service without being obliged to give notice beforehand, but merely to render an account thereof and of his reasons for establishing them, otherwise he will be obliged to postpone the establishment of these posts for two years, which might be very prejudicial."¹ In the same year it was pointed out to the Council that the English also intended to establish posts and that it would be of advantage to forestall them by building posts in several places. Vaudreuil received specific permission to establish the post at Niagara should the Iroquois desire it.

There is a letter from de Ramezay and Bégon to the Minister which describes conditions on the lake in 1715.² The letter is from Quebec and is dated November 7, 1715:

M. de Longueuil has informed us on his return from the villages of the Iroquois that a small establishment is necessary north of Niagara on Lake Ontario about 100 leagues from Fort Frontenac, seven or eight days distant by canoe. This post would prevent the Missisagnis and the Amikoes from going to trade with the Iroquois when they come back from hunting about Lake Erie. But if His Majesty approve this establishment the trade must be for the King and the post must be managed as at Fort Frontenac, from which goods and necessary merchandise will be sent. He proposes also to build a ship for transport from one post to the other, and thinks this would be a sure means of conciliating the Iroquois and obtaining most of the furs which go to the English which would be very profitable for His Majesty. If this post were established we could in a measure prevent the *coureurs-de-bois* from trading in Lake Ontario by confiscating their goods and arresting them; the trade which they carry on being very injurious to that at Fort Frontenac. . . . Three canoes of Mississages established at the foot of the lake Ontario about 100 leagues from Fort Frontenac and twenty from Niagara came down last May to Montreal on the invitation of the Sieur de St. Pierre who wintered among them; none of this tribe had

¹ "M. de Vaudreuil to the Duke of Orleans, Regent, February, 1716." *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 870.

² *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 35, pp. 43-44, 48-50.

come down for eight years. They told the Sieur de Ramezay that they had not come because of the dearness of the goods and the refusal to supply them with *eau-de-vie*. They gave him a handsome pipe and promised to come every year and smoke it. They assured him that Onontio was always their Father and that they would rather trade with the French than the English if the price of the goods were closer, and if they could get *eau-de-vie*, which they said they could not do without; and that if they could not get it at Fort Frontenac, where they could go in four or five days, they would go to Orange for it though it would be 70 leagues by land.

There was all the more need to grant the Indians what they demanded since it was in this village that the English from Orange had intended to establish themselves in order to be able to reach the Ottawa tribes from there. And they would have done so had it not been for the protests of the Sieur de Ramezay to M. Hunter the governor of New York as he had the honour to inform you, my Lord. Providentially, he replied to the said Sieur de Ramezay that he would acquaint the said merchants of Orange of his decision to oppose this enterprise and that he would tell them that he was right in having the goods confiscated of those who should go to the said village since, this village being on the north of this lake, they must not go there until the boundaries had been settled; and that it was on this occasion that the said Sieur de Ramezay had given instructions to the Sieur de Sabrevois and to the Sieur de Maunoir, his son, to pillage the goods of the English whom they might find in the upper country. . . .

(Signed) DE RAMEZAY
BÉGON.

This letter, written during the absence of Vaudreuil in France, embodies the policy of the governor for the protection of the trade on the lake, and suggests that the first proposal for a post at Toronto was mooted in 1715, and that it was Longueuil who made the suggestion. Severance is, I believe, mistaken in making the first part of this letter refer to Niagara.¹ The

¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 175; Mr. Severance seems to have consulted the abridgement of this document which appears in the *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 874, where marginal notes make it apparent that the authorities in Paris understood that a post at Niagara was recommended. The original document proves that the reference was to Toronto or to a village nearer the end of the lake.

expressions, "north of Niagara on Lake Ontario" and "this village being on the north of this lake" and "in order to be able to reach the Ottawa tribes from there," seem to refer to Toronto. It is certain, however, that at this time there were Missisaugas at other points as well as at Toronto, though their chief village was at the latter place. The Amikoes were the remnant of a tribe once resident about Lake Nipissing.

It is to Durant,¹ the renegade chaplain of Fort Frontenac, that we are indebted for our first definite knowledge of the existence of a *Magasin Royal*, or king's shop, at Toronto in 1720. Durant was present at Niagara in 1721 as a virtual spy in the English service. He describes himself as "a French Récollet priest of Huguenot family long desirous to leave his order and change his way of life and religion." In the same year, on the thirteenth of June, Durant abandoned his post at Fort Frontenac and, accompanied by an Indian guide, made his way to Albany, where he presented himself to Governor Burnet and conveyed to him a written record of what he had seen and heard at Niagara. Governor Burnet despatched him to the Lords of Trade in London with a recommendation that he be rewarded for his information, and no more is heard of him. Durant's memorial is to be found in the fifth volume of the *New York Colonial Documents*. There is no reason to doubt its authenticity, although the document is evidently a translation and nothing whatever has been discovered about its author. A Father Durant was rector in Annapolis, N.S., between 1704 and 1711; he was taken prisoner by the English and brought to Boston; in 1731 he was back in Quebec; nothing is known of him between these dates. Father Durant, born in 1699, was killed at Kaskaskia in 1724, according to Tanguay. As the archives of the Récollets are not available and are said to be in confusion, information must necessarily be incomplete. The name and office may even have been assumed as a protection from the consequences of espionage.

Durant's memorial contains the following statement: "In

¹ "Durant's Memorial," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. V, p. 588.

the year 1718 came orders from the court of France to establish a Trade for the benefit of the King in the circuit of Lake Ontario and there to build Magazines as well upon the North as the south sides thereof." Durant proceeds to narrate for the benefit of Governor Burnet how he himself, in company with the Sieur de Joncaire, journeyed from Fort Frontenac to Quebec in 1720 and received instructions from Vaudreuil relative to the conduct of affairs in the Niagara region. They arrived in Quebec on September 3rd.

The next day the Sieur de Joncaire received orders to return immediately to Niagara with the title of Commandant which was given him for the first time. There was joined to this new dignity the inspection of the Magazine established in the Lake of Ontario. This Magazine is situate on the West of the Lake for the Trade with the Missasague, otherwise called the Round Heads, distant about thirty leagues from that of Niagara. The house at the bottom of the Lake was built by the Sieur de Anville (*sic*) a little after that of Niagara. Sieur D'Agneauz built also one on his side of the North of the Lake in the bottom of the Bay of Quinté to trade with the Outaouais. Quinté is about thirty leagues from the Fort Cataracuoy. They leave to winter in all their posts one Store Keeper and two Soldiers.

The Sieur de Joncaire, with whom Durant was so familiar, was the elder Joncaire. Father and sons, the Joncaires had been established among the Senecas for twenty years. It was through the influence of the elder Joncaire that the French succeeded at last in securing a foothold on the Niagara. In the end of May, 1720, a "Royal Magazine" was built on the site of the village of Lewiston, to be succeeded in 1725 by the stone house at the mouth of the river. According to Durant, Joncaire returned to Niagara in the spring of 1721 with the title of Commandant, and with the added duty of the inspection of a "magazine situate on the west of the lake for the trade with the Missasagues." This house, he tells us, was built a little after that of Niagara, that is, in June or July of 1720. There can be no doubt that the magazine referred to was at

Toronto. By the shore, Toronto is approximately thirty leagues from Niagara.

That the French had a post at Toronto in 1727 and 1728 is confirmed by documentary evidence.¹ That they had a post at *le fond du lac Ontario* between the years 1720 and 1726 is also well authenticated. We shall now see that these two posts were identical and, that prior to 1726, the French were accustomed to allude to Toronto as *le fond du lac*, and that after that time this name was dropped and the post became known as Toronto. A closer examination of the evidence is desirable.

Durant, in his memorial, informs us that definite orders came from France to establish posts, "as well upon the North as the south sides of Lake Ontario." It is probable that the court designated the places where the magazines were to be erected, and what more likely places than Quinte, the abandoned site of the Récollet mission, and Toronto, already familiar from the explorations of La Salle and from the fact that Louis XV had always before him the Toronto Carrying-Place, clearly indicated on the great bronze globe constructed in 1690 for Louis XIV by the geographer, Coronelli.² Since Durant describes a magazine situated "on the West of the Lake for the Trade with the Missasague otherwise called the Round Heads distant about thirty leagues from that of Niagara," it has hitherto been supposed by Severance and others that this magazine was at Burlington Bay. Durant's description,

1 Consult also *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 45, pp. 200-202: "Estat des Pelleteries provenant de la Traite faite au fort frontenac, à Niagara et dans le fonds du Lac Ontario pendant les années 1722 et 1723. . . . Gages des Employez pour la Traite."

2 "In the Grand Salon of the Ducal Palace at Venice in 1872 there was a large terrestrial globe some four feet in diameter, made in 1690 . . . Toiouegon was distinctly marked with the word 'portage.'" Miss Lizars, *Valley of The Humber*, pp. 16, 17; Margry, II, p. 276. *Demande de Renseignements pour tracer le cours de l'Ohio sur le globe terrestre de la bibliothèque du Roi. . . .* "On travaille en cette ville à des globes qui ont quinze pieds de diamètre, dont on veut faire present au Roy. . . . On a peine encore à mettre sur ces globes la rivière d'Ohio dont vous avés marques la cours dans vostre carte. On seroit bien aise de sçavoir s'il y a de bons fondemens de la marquer comme vous avez fait." . . . Lettre de M. de Tronson à l'abbé de Belmont, Paris, 2 juillet, 1682.

however, can apply only to the mouth of the Humber, which is thirty leagues from Niagara by the shore. Nor does his next allusion to the magazine as "at the bottom of the Lake" destroy this theory. M. d'Aigremont, reporting on the condition of the trade at the various posts for the year 1727, describes the post at Toronto as "a leasehold at the foot of Lake Ontario exploited in the King's interest in past years as a dependency of Fort Niagara."¹ If M. d'Aigremont could describe Toronto in 1727 as "at the foot of Lake Ontario," then the references in the records of the period between 1720 and 1726 to the post at *le fond du lac* must refer to Toronto. In these accounts, Frontenac, Niagara and *le fond du lac* are grouped together. After that date *le fond du lac* disappears and Toronto takes its place. Again, it is to be observed that M. d'Aigremont in 1727 describes Toronto as a dependency of Fort Niagara; this would agree with the powers conferred upon Joncaire in 1720. In 1729 the President of the Navy Board, writing to M. Hocquart,² speaks of the post at Toronto as a post "which *for all time* has been carried on as dependency of Fort Niagara." In many of the maps of the period Lake Ontario appears without any indentation at the west end; the shore is made to run in a northerly direction from the mouth of the Niagara River. To the French at Fort Frontenac, Toronto would be in the west of the lake, and since the Toronto Carrying-Place led from there to Lake Huron, it might properly be described as the *fond du lac*. On no map which has come under my observation is there any indication that the French ever had a post at Burlington Bay. Nor could they have hoped for much trade at that point in comparison with the trade drawn from the region to which the Toronto Carrying-Place gave access. The country to the west of Burlington Bay would be adequately served by the post at Detroit. It would hardly have been worth while for the French to establish a post at Burlington Bay for the benefit of the few Missisaugas who lived there and for the sake of the

¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 271.

² *Archives des Colonies*, Série B, Vol. 53-2, pp. 338-9.



MITCHELL—1755

This map belongs to the group which placed Fort Toronto in the *Fond du Lac* or Bottom of the Lake.

1. The first part of the document is a title page containing the title, author's name, and the date of publication.

2. The second part is the abstract, which provides a concise summary of the main findings and conclusions of the study.

3. The third part is the introduction, where the background and objectives of the research are discussed.

4. The fourth part is the methodology, detailing the research design, data collection methods, and analysis techniques.

5. The fifth part is the results, where the findings of the study are presented in a clear and structured manner.

6. The sixth part is the discussion, which interprets the results and relates them to the existing literature.

7. The seventh part is the conclusion, summarizing the key points and providing recommendations for future research.

8. The eighth part is the references, listing the sources used in the study.

9. The ninth part is the appendix, which contains supplementary information related to the study.

10. The tenth part is the bibliography, providing a comprehensive list of the literature cited in the document.

11. The eleventh part is the index, which helps readers locate specific information within the document.

12. The twelfth part is the glossary, defining key terms and concepts used throughout the study.

13. The thirteenth part is the acknowledgments, where the author expresses gratitude to those who supported the research.

14. The fourteenth part is the disclaimer, stating any limitations or potential biases of the study.

15. The fifteenth part is the conclusion, which reiterates the main findings and their significance.

16. The sixteenth part is the references, providing a detailed list of the sources consulted during the research.

17. The seventeenth part is the appendix, containing additional data and materials used in the study.

18. The eighteenth part is the bibliography, listing the academic works cited in the document.

19. The nineteenth part is the index, facilitating the search for specific topics within the text.

20. The twentieth part is the glossary, explaining the meaning of technical terms and abbreviations.

21. The twenty-first part is the acknowledgments, recognizing the contributions of individuals and organizations.

22. The twenty-second part is the disclaimer, addressing any potential conflicts of interest or limitations.

23. The twenty-third part is the conclusion, summarizing the overall findings and their implications.

24. The twenty-fourth part is the references, providing a thorough list of the scholarly sources.

25. The twenty-fifth part is the appendix, offering supplementary information and data sets.

26. The twenty-sixth part is the bibliography, detailing the academic literature referenced in the work.

27. The twenty-seventh part is the index, enabling readers to navigate the document efficiently.

28. The twenty-eighth part is the glossary, clarifying the definitions of specialized terminology.

29. The twenty-ninth part is the acknowledgments, expressing appreciation to the research team and sponsors.

30. The thirtieth part is the disclaimer, outlining the scope and limitations of the study's findings.

31. The thirty-first part is the conclusion, highlighting the key takeaways and future research directions.

32. The thirty-second part is the references, listing the academic sources used in the research.

33. The thirty-third part is the appendix, providing additional context and supporting materials.

34. The thirty-fourth part is the bibliography, compiling a list of the literature cited in the document.

35. The thirty-fifth part is the index, serving as a guide to the document's content.

36. The thirty-sixth part is the glossary, defining the terms used throughout the study.

37. The thirty-seventh part is the acknowledgments, recognizing the support and assistance received.

38. The thirty-eighth part is the disclaimer, stating any potential biases or limitations of the research.

39. The thirty-ninth part is the conclusion, summarizing the study's findings and their significance.

40. The fortieth part is the references, providing a comprehensive list of the sources consulted.

41. The forty-first part is the appendix, containing supplementary information and data.

42. The forty-second part is the bibliography, listing the academic literature cited in the work.

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47. The forty-seventh part is the conclusion, summarizing the main findings and their implications.

48. The forty-eighth part is the references, providing a detailed list of the sources used in the study.

49. The forty-ninth part is the appendix, offering additional data and materials related to the research.

50. The fiftieth part is the bibliography, listing the academic works referenced in the document.

51. The fifty-first part is the index, helping readers locate specific information within the text.

52. The fifty-second part is the glossary, defining the terms and concepts used throughout the study.

traffic which occasionally passed over the Grand River Portage. With the English from Albany it was another matter. There is reason to think that they intended early in the eighteenth century to place a post at the end of the lake. But final and conclusive proof of the identity of *le poste du fond du lac* with *le poste de Toronto* is to be found in an extract from a legal document discovered by M. Fauteux among the unpublished notes of the Abbé Faillon. This document is entitled *Cession du poste du fond du lac par le Sieur de la Saussaye—II aout 1728*; in the body of this document the post is described as *le poste de Toronto*.¹

To return to Durant. He tells us in his memorial that the Sieur Douville spent the winter of 1720 and 1721 with another Frenchman alone in the bark cabin at the mouth of the Niagara gorge waiting for Joncaire, who did not arrive till spring. On May 19, 1721, Charles Le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil, the Lieutenant-Governor of Montreal, with an important retinue, which included Chaplain Durant, arrived at Joncaire's house at Lewiston. Longueuil was under orders to visit the Senecas, to distribute presents and to thank them for permitting the erection of the *Magasin Royal*. The distinguished company of Frenchmen gathered for diplomacy and pleasure on this occasion at the mouth of the Niagara River was still further augmented on the twenty-first by the arrival of the Jesuit, Charlevoix. Charlevoix has enriched Canadian literature and history by his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, the materials for which he collected during his first residence in Canada between the years 1705 and 1709. He had returned to Canada in 1720 to report on the best route for an overland expedition in search of the western sea. He visited the western posts and returned to France by way of Mobile. Charlevoix tells us nothing of Toronto, but Bellin's map, which accompanies Charlevoix's *Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, is remarkable for its accurate delineation of the shores of Lake Ontario and especially of the two trails leading from the mouths of the Humber and

¹ See p. 86.

the Rouge to Lake Simcoe. On his arrival at Niagara, Charlevoix would meet Joncaire and the Sieur Douville, who would have accurate knowledge of the north shore.

The day after Charlevoix's arrival, a party which included Chaplain Durant set out from the mouth of the Niagara River and turning west made their way along the north shore to Fort Frontenac. Durant, in his memorial, writes:

Monsieur de Cinneoil & Mr. de la Cavagnale had undertaken the voyage only out of Curiosity of seeing the fall of water at Niagara. Mr. de Laubinois, Commissary of the Ordinance,¹ had orders to take an account of the effects remaining in the Magazine at the Fort of Cataracuoy, of the Post of Niagara, and of the Bottom of Ye Lake, and of that of Quinté, which he executed in making the Tour of Lake Ontario On the 22nd, M. de Longueuil departed for to go to the Seneka villages with the Sieurs de Joncaire and La Chavinerie. And (he repeats himself) we embarked the same day, M. de Cinneoil, Monsieur de Cavagnale, Mr. de Noyen,² M. de Laubinois & myself for to return to Cataracuoy by the North side of the Lake Ontario we having come to Niagara by the south side.³

There is no document in existence showing that the king ordered the construction of posts at Quinte, Niagara and Toronto in 1720, as claimed by Durant, but there is a letter approving of Vaudreuil's initiative in sending Joncaire to build Niagara, which approval amounts to an *ex post facto* order.⁴ There seems no reason to doubt Durant's statement that the post at Toronto was built in 1720, as we have statements of

1 i.e. *Commissaire Ordonnateur*.

2 SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. II, p. 229.

3 *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 590.

4 Consult, *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 41, pp. 156-157. M. Bégon in making his report for the trade at Fort Frontenac for the year 1717, which he had forgotten to send in 1718, remarks: "La traite du Lac Ontario et celle du fort Frontenac sont tellement confondues qu'on n'en peut faire aucune distinction, ainsy que le Conseil a marqué le souhaiter, parce que toutes les marchandises traitées dans ces deux postes sortent du même magasin." Ibid., Vol. 40, pp. 28-29, "Vaudreuil et Bégon au ministre 26 octobre, 1719"; Ibid., Vol. 42-2, pp. 273-274, "Mémoire du Roy aux Srs. Vaudreuil et Bégon, Paris, 2 juin, 1720."